

*The* CENSOR *censur'd:*

OR,

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*Cato* turn'd *Catiline*.

SHEWING

I. Who are the Admirers of CATO.

II. Why they admire him.

WITH

*A Word or two of a* STANDING  
FORCE, *and a Hint of* INGRATITUDE.

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*Pellitur a Populo victus Cato*

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In a LETTER from a Gentleman in the  
Country to his Friend in London.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-  
Arms in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXII.

( Price Six-Pence. )

The Censor's Confession

Go to the Devil

SHIRING

I. Who are the Authors of Censor?

II. Why they deserve him?

WITH

A New and Improved Edition

of the original of the original



The Letter to the Editor in the

Country to his friend in London.

LONDON:

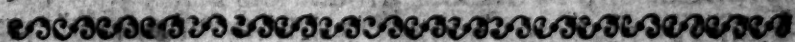
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(Price Six Pence)



*The* CENSOR *censur'd:*  
O R,  
CATO turn'd CATALINE.



S I R,



I F you wonder, as you say you do, how *Cato's* Letters have had such a Currency; You who are on the Spot, who see what is done, and hear what is said, so near the Scene of Action; well may it raise our Wonder Forty Leagues off, who have seldom better Intelligence than what is convey'd to us by the Sagacious Authors of the *Daily, Weekly, and Monthly* Histories.

Your own Reason is not one of the least, why those Letters have met with such a Reception:  
A That



That they are mischievously bent, and writ with a Design to perplex the Administration, and distract the publick Affairs.

Those that have mostly cry'd them up, are either Enemies to the Government; Sufferers by the *South-Sea*; Lovers of Satyr and Scandal; or weak and ignorant People, who having no Judgment of their own, are misled by a Vogue, or the Influence of such as they think can judge better.

The Enemies to the Government, who are the same Sort of Persons as were Enemies to the *Revolution*, and act on the same Principles, if they have any at all, catch at every thing that helps to lessen its Reputation and Power; and there is not a more effectual Way of doing it, than by the Methods this *Letter-Writer* takes; to pretend a flaming Zeal for Liberty and the Protestant Religion, and then do what in him lies to weaken the only Support of them, our present happy Constitution, by raising groundless Fears and Jealousies, making odious Misrepresentations of Facts, and even altering them by malicious Glosses and Insinuations.

You cannot imagine how edifying this is to our *Jacobites*: And to tell you one Instance only; I know a certain Knight of the *White Rose*, of equal Estimation for Loyalty, Wit, Learning, and Sincerity, who discarded his old Friend *Mist*, tho' he had a long time been the Subject of his Panegyrics, to entertain his ingenious Admirers with *Cato*.

This malignant Disposition of vilifying the Administration, broke out early after King *William's* Accession to the Throne, and from the very Men that had been most zealous in accomplishing it, as we are told by a Person of Quality,  
in



in a Discourse published in 1689. *These murmuring seditious Spirits*, says he, *after shameful retracting from their early Officiousness in the Encouragement of the late Expedition of the then Prince of Orange*, fell in as zealously with those that oppos'd his Measures to preserve the Government he had assum'd at their Request.

The View of the Leaders of such *Murmurers*, with whatever Colour they disguise their Ambition or Revenge, is the most mercenary and mischievous that any Men can have. For without any Regard to the publick Peace, or the Safety of the Kingdom, they are, at all Hazards, for embroiling and perplexing Affairs, that they may enter at the Breach they make. *Civil Dissentions*, says the Author of the Contests in Athens and Rome, never fail of introducing and spiriting the Ambition of private Men; who then become the Instruments for deciding such Quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the Prize. We have other Instances of their Behaviour, in a Treatise publish'd about the same Time. *These Discontented are a Sort of Ominous Birds*, always hovering about City and Suburbs, presuming to misrepresent, argue, and arbitrate the great Affairs of State; and such is the licentious Liberty they take to themselves, that they censure, arraign, and condemn what and whom they please. Even against the Sitting of Parliament, they gather and appear in whole Flights and Flocks, brooding of false News, and boding Mischief. *These Old Whigs*, as they call'd themselves, finding there were not Places enough for them all, grew out of Humour with those that got into them; and were caress'd and extoll'd as the only Patriots, by such as before had never given them a better Word than *Republicans, Rebels and Traytors*. The Writers among them fell upon the

same Topicks Cato has been handling; and in a Year or two's Time, the Ministers are in a Lump charg'd with *Bribery* and *Corruption*; all the Artillery of the Ancients and Moderns are pointed against them; notwithstanding, as one of their best Authors acknowledges in the very Beginning of his Preface, *That there was a Plot on foot for subverting the present Government, as has appear'd now beyond all Contradiction.* However, he sets himself to declaim against the Ambition and Avarice of the Ministry, other Words for *Posts* and *Appointments*; and with much Ostentation of Reading, like Cato, ransacks the Stores of Antiquity, to expose those Gentlemen, who most unworthily held the Stations due only to his own Merit, and that of his Friends. *I shall instance,* says Cato the First, *only in the most flourishing Vices, Avarice and Ambition:* and then he comes upon us with, *Ilicet Ambitio nasci, &c.* Then Lucan, *Hinc rapti fasces prelio, &c.* Then Appian, then Petronius, with *Venalis Populus, Venalis Curia Patrum.* Then Seneca, *Res ventosa.* Then Valer. Maximus, *Utinam nihil eorum quæ Virtuti debentur, emere pecunia liceret:* And then Petronius again,

*Quare tam perditæ Roma  
Ipsa sui Merces erat, & sive Vindice Præda.*

'Tis sure enough, the Greek and Roman Histories will furnish us with Variety of Instances of ambitious and corrupt Governors, as well as of the Injustice of popular Clamour against the most Uncorrupt and Moderate. Camillus, who so often triumph'd over the Enemies of Rome, was driven from the City by the Noise and Rage of a Faction, who accus'd him of Bribery: The common Charge, where high Stations put Men in the way  
of



of Fortune. His Accusers were the Men whom he had lately led to Victory; and their Zeal for the Interest of the Republick flam'd out, upon his denying them the Plunder of the *Falerians*, who sent Ambassadors to make their Submission to him in this very handsome manner: *The Romans preferring Justice before Victory, have taught us to embrace Submission rather than Liberty; and we cannot confess our selves so much inferior in Strength, as we acknowledge them to be superior in Virtue.* Yet, for that he would not give them the Pillage of the City, they rail'd at him as a *Hater of the People*, and an Opposer of the Interest of the Poor. One of their Cato's, *Lucius Apuleius*, prefer'd an Accusation against him for Bribery; tho' all the Proof he had to produce, was, a Brass Gate or two brought from *Falerii*, by the Servants of the Consul, who had fill'd the *Roman Treasury* with *Tuscan Money*. *Lucius's Cry* prevail'd; *Camillus* was banished, and return'd not to *Rome*, but to deliver her from the Captivity of Barbarians, which was coming upon her, by the Encouragement she had given to such Patriots as *Apuleius*. Indeed, if we look ever so little into History, we shall find, that these publick Spirits have in all Times been set to work by paltry private Interests, or mean and particular Disgusts.

One would have imagin'd, by what I have quoted out of the abovementioned Treatise, that every Soul in the Ministry and Parliament bought his Place, as they do in *France*; and that those who exclaim'd so against the Practice, would imitate the Example we are put in Mind of; *Pauper erat Curius*. But we shall find the quite contrary.

While



While the War lasted, they were perpetually railing at *Taxes*, our Losses at Sea and Land, &c. occasioned chiefly by not giving Money, or not giving it in due Time and Proportion, which they themselves prevented.

See the Spirit and Cant of *Cato*, in a Pamphlet published 1692. " Our Losses are the exhausting of the Wealth, the Stock of the Nation, " in the vast Sums drawn out from thence, for " the Use of foreign Countries, and the numerous Troops paid in those Countries : And at " the same Time that our Sustenance goes out, " it is hindred from coming in to us ; we losing " every Day in Trade ; the Profit of that still " cut from us : And this must needs be so, since " the *French* remain Masters of the Sea, &c. This was written, as the Author owns, soon after Admiral *Russel* had put them into the Mastery of the Ocean, by entirely beating their Fleet, and destroying it at *La Hogue*. Again, " Is it not a " great Absurdity to think we shall have other " Success than we have had ? And what has that " been ? At *Flerus* we receive a Rout where we " lose a good Part of an Army. Another " Year, if we are not beaten in the Campaign " Time, we are charg'd in the Rear, and a Mark " given us at going off. *Mons* is taken one " Year ; *Namur* the next : The other Towns " must go the same Way of Course in a Campaign " or two ; tho' to take a Kind of Revenge, we " should attack the *French* with as much Advantage and Success as we did at *Steinkirk*. However, we are still raising vast Sums to supply our " Armies ; as if this was really to do us good ? Thus we see their Practices have from the Beginning been the same, and so they always will be, arising from the same bad Principles. His Majesty

Majesty in his late most Gracious Speech from the Throne, is pleased to observe, *They endeavour to impute to my Government the Mischiefs and Calamities which they alone create and occasion.*

There would be no End of it, if I should go about to enumerate the several Treatises of the like Nature, that were written by such as term'd themselves *Old Whigs*; who were applauded and cajol'd by the Enemies to the Government, as real *Tories*. In a Discourse which came out *Anno 1692.* entitled, *Short Considerations on the present State of Affairs*; the Author, laying aside the profess'd Enemies of our Establishment, treats of the *Murmurers*, the *Discontented*, the *Envious*, and the *Busy-Body*; and enlarges on those pretended *Whigs*, who would rather venture the Wreck of the Ship, than not have a Hand at the Helm. " They are too rigid Examiners, says " he, of the Mistakes of those that are not in " their good Graces. They only contemplate " and expose the frail Side of such as they don't " affect, and won't allow the Balance to be laid " before them, of the Good and Evil they have " done, to make a proportionable Abatement, " according to Prudence and Equity. They are " so enamour'd with their own Capacity, and so " fully satisfied that theirs is the proper Talent " for Business, that they think it is being inju- " rious to the Publick, not to employ them in " the Way they would propose: And to possess a " Place which they conceive would better be- " come themselves, or to enter into a Concur- " rence with them, are Crimes irremissible. They " don't pry but rake into the Actions of " great Men, as if they had an Interest they " should be faulty, and were to share in the For- " feiture or Composition. Thus Guilt sticks " to



" to Places of Profit and Credit, as the *Jewish*  
 " Leprosy did formerly to the Walls of the Hou-  
 " ses; and you must go out of them to get  
 " clear of the Infection. I hope the good Sense  
 " of those that are at present unluckily biassed  
 " by them, will restrain them from sinking the  
 " Vessel in which they are imbarck'd, tho' the  
 " Helm be not committed to them. I promise  
 " my self, that Persons of Understanding and  
 " Knowledge in the World, will rather find out  
 " Means to recover the Ground they say we have  
 " lost, than be obstinate to make the Ways  
 " more slippery, till they are carried upon a  
 " Precipice, where the next Step must be inevi-  
 " table Ruin, &c.

'Tis not so long ago, but we can remember,  
 how these pretended Patriots caught greedily at  
 every Occasion of Complaint, and gave just  
 Cause to a *Tory* to upbraid the *Whigs*, as was done  
 in a Discourse, dedicated to King *William*, not  
 long after the beforementioned was published;  
 " Not two of the *Whigs* are of the same Mind.  
 " They have no Government; no Discipline  
 " in their Party, no Firmness to one another, or  
 " to any Point. Their great *P. Fo—y* turns  
 " *Cadet*, and carries Arms under the General of  
 " the *West-Saxons*. The two *Har—ys*, Father  
 " and Son, are Engineers under the late Lieu-  
 " tenant of the Ordnance, and bomb any Bill  
 " which he has once resolved to reduce to Ashes,  
 " tho' it were for Recognition, or any thing else  
 " that is most necessary to our Security. They  
 " are always laughing, despising, or railing at  
 " one another. Some of them are too wise,  
 " some of them too witty, and some of them  
 " too honest for the rest; jealous and envious  
 " of one anothers Favour and Preferment; every  
 " Man



“ Man thinking himself fittest to be at the  
 “ Head of Affairs, and hating and reflecting  
 “ upon those who are so, and despising to be go-  
 “ verned or directed by them ; while the Tories  
 “ on the contrary, have but one Heart, one  
 “ Voice, one Purse, and one Interest ; excuse  
 “ and justify one anothers Faults, &c.” In this  
 Manner did these *Cato's* continue sowing Divisions  
 in the most difficult and perilous Junctures ; by  
 which Means the War was rendred unfortunate,  
 and the Peace precarious : However, no sooner  
 was the *Ryswick* Treaty concluded, than the Cla-  
 mour, as loud and turbulent as ever, was con-  
 tinued against the Soldiery, *Irish forfeited Estates*,  
 the Treaty of *Partition*, and every Act of Go-  
 vernment. The Noise they made about *Irish for-  
 feited Estates*, produc'd the Act of Resumption ; and  
 twelve Trustees were appointed to manage that  
 Affair in *Ireland*, who were contented with  
 1500 l. a Year a-piece, besides Charges, to serve  
 their King and Country in an Employment so be-  
 neficial to the Publick ; of which we have a good  
 Account in a Treatise, entituled, *Fus Regnum* ;  
 supposed to be written, by one of the greatest  
 Lawyers of the Age. “ If when their Rights  
 “ are secur'd to these Protestant Purchasers, says  
 “ he to the Tenants and Improvers, and the  
 “ several Claimants have reap'd the full Benefit  
 “ of their Claims ; the Product of the *Resuming*  
 “ *Act* will be but very little more than the Ad-  
 “ vantage which will accrue to the *Irish Trustees* ;  
 “ and the Pleasure and Satisfaction which our  
 “ Enemies will have, in seeing the King's Grants  
 “ resum'd after a Manner unknown in this Land  
 “ before, and the Rewards of their Services  
 “ taken from those great Men who followed  
 “ his Fortune, and were Instruments in the  
 B “ Hand

“ Hand of God to deliver us from Popery and  
 “ Slavery : ’Tis hoped, that the Wisdom and  
 “ Justice of the Nation, will not think it their  
 “ Interest to adhere to what they have been led  
 “ into by the false Suggestions of Men, who  
 “ have had more Regard to their private Gain,  
 “ than to the Glory and true Interest of *England*.  
 “ If after the *Trustees* have spent three Years  
 “ Rents of those Forfeitures, in the Execution  
 “ of that *Trust*, and the Claimants have been at  
 “ 100,000 *l.* Charge in their Journeys from their  
 “ respective Countries to *Dublin*, and in prosecuting their Claims ; and the whole Kingdom  
 “ has for that Course of Time been disquieted  
 “ with the Jurisdiction of twelve *arbitrary Men* ;  
 “ all that *England* will gain by it, will be no  
 “ more than *the Charge the Claimants have been*  
 “ *at, &c.* it can hardly be doubted, but all  
 “ those that love our Constitution, are for supporting the present Government, and have a  
 “ Regard to what is truly honourable and just,  
 “ will restore to the several Persons, &c. Shou’d  
 we find *Cato* himself among these *twelve arbitrary Men*, what would become of all that  
 Publick Spirit and Disinterest, which have given  
 Credit to his Letters ? Should we not be very  
 wise, to conceive an ill Opinion of the present  
 Managers, on his bare Word ; or be again misled  
 by the *false Suggestions of Men who have had more*  
*Regard to their private Gain, than to the Glory and*  
*true Interest of England.* For very plain it is,  
 that Self has been always at the Bottom ; *Favour*  
 and *Preferment* are the main Grievances, as  
*Dryden* tells us ;

*Some by their Friends, more by themselves thought wise,*  
*Oppose the Power to which they cannot rise.*

Several



Several of these old Independent *Whigs*, after they had sacrific'd their Understanding and Honesty to Pique and Resentment, gave themselves up Body and Soul to the *Tories*; and tho' they came reeking out of a Conventicle, became as staunch *Churchmen* as the *West-Saxon* General, who made it his Brag, that he had not been at Church in Seven Years. What says the Learned Author of *Jura Populi Anglicani*, in his Preface? Is not R—H— a Ringleader in this Tory Party? Is not his Brother E. a leading Member? Does not he attend all Ordinances, and as constantly every Week-day frequent the Service of the Church (for his is a Church-Party) in St. Stephen's Chapel, as he does the Conventicle every Lord's Day? Are not the Fo—ys, Win—tons, Sr. John, Ha—vy of Weymouth, Bar—ston, H——n, R——gh, and others of that Leven, Members of that Fraternity? Are not Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and Forty more at this very Time, Members of the H——se of Com——ns, and of this Tory Party? Which shews us, that not only now, but whenever such a Sort of a *Cato* shall arise from among the *Whigs*, he will be the Favourite of the *Tories*, and deserts with that View only. If he makes a Conscience of abandoning his former Principles entirely, and takes care of the Main Stake in Time, 'tis as much as can be expected, and all the Atonement he can make for the Evil he would have done, and the Dangers he was running us into: And I should be willing to think of a Person of his Education and Knowledge, that as Monsieur *Rochefaucault* observes, There was more Vanity than Malice in his Epistles, *On est d' Ordinaire plus medisant par Vanité que par Malice.*

That the Sufferers by the *South-Sea* are pleas'd with him, is not at all strange. They had by



their Madneſs and Folly ſwell'd up a Bladder they bought, till it burſt, and had the Wind of it for their Purchase. This judicious and impartial Advocate of theirs, wipes off both the Folly and Madneſs, and lays it on thick upon every Man in the Miniſtry ; which muſt needs be extremely delighting to ſuch as have indeed no body to blame but themſelves.

If you talk to him of the happy Adminiſtration in the Beginning of his Maſteſty's Reign, and the ſuppreſſing of a horrid and deſperate Rebellion ; He cries out, *South-Sea* ! Tell him of the glorious Expedition to the *Streights*, the preſerving the Balance of *Europe*, and the ſecuring to us the Trade of the *Mediterranean* ; he has *South-Sea* for you again. Mention to him the *Quadruple Alliance*, which binds the greateſt Potentates, not only among the Proteſtants, but even among the *Papiſts*, to maintain our *Proteſtant Succeſſion* ; and he bawls out *South-Sea*. Name the ſeveral wiſe and happy Expeditions into the *North*, to keep the Balance there, and prevent Inſults on our Commerce, and perhaps our Coaſts ; *South-Sea* is his Word ſtill. In ſhort, there is not any one Act of the executive Power, ſince his Maſteſty's Acceſſion to the Throne ; tho' advantageous and honourable for the moſt Part, and unblameable in all, except where he has *South-Sea* to ſtand by him ; but he answers with the unhappy Turn which a Scheme took, that was form'd by the People themſelves, and became unfortunate only by their Raſhneſs and Avarice. When a Man has done a fooliſh or wicked Thing, 'tis natural for him to lay the Fault on ſome one or other, who perhaps had no Hand in it. Self is the laſt Perſon a Man will accuſe ; and 'tis very grating to own a Folly at the ſame Time that one is ſuffering

fering by the Loss. *Ay, ay ; such a one, or such a one did it; Had it not been for another, it had never come to that. I'm sure I lost my Money by it, and the Man ought to be hang'd.* A Judgment as natural as Self-interest and Self-love. 'Tis so vulgar, that the dullest will presently give into it: And while *Cato* is crying out *South-Sea* at a Person, he doubts not to have the Rabble halloo after him. What a Noise did the *Jacobites* and *Murmurers* make with the *Darien* Business in King *William's* Reign? The *English* clamour'd against establishing that Company in *Scotland*, one of his Majesty's Kingdoms: The *Scots* made as great Outcry at the Discouragements it met with from *England*. Here the Faction roar'd aloud at its being done; there they roar'd louder still at its being undone; and *Darien* was then as serviceable to the *Murmurers* and *Jacobites* for a Year or two, as *South-Sea* has been now to *Cato*.

If *La Fontaine* cou'd say of your Makers of Jest,

*Dieu ne crea que pour les Sots*

*Les mechans diseurs de bons Mots ;*

*God Almighty made the Jest-makers only for Fools :* For whom then were the Distributers of *Political Scandal* made? *Scandal* tickles, tho' without Party and Faction; but when it falls upon a Side, 'tis Wit to every one else. If it shaves close, it pleases for its Keeness; Tho, it may be, the Reader has never the better Opinion of the Writer for't; yet he feels in himself a secret Pleasure in what he think gives another Pain. 'Tis a Frailty of Nature: Men are apt to fancy themselves much handsomer than they are, when an uglier Fellow is in Company, and measure their own Perfections



ons by the Failings of others. 'Tis a hard Matter to look on Grandeur and Eminence without Envy; and whatever helps to bring them nearer to our Level, cannot but be to our Mind. Thus, without entring into the Merits or Truth of the Matter, the Reader takes the same Delight in it, as those that are in the dry take in looking on those that are in the wet; they care not who they are, as long as they themselves are out of the Weather. *'Tis a certain Sign of an ill Heart, says one of the politest Writers of our Times, to be inclin'd to Defamation. They who are harmless and innocent, can have no Gratification that way; but it ever arises from a Neglect of what is laudable in a Man's self, and an Impatience of seeing it in another. Little Minds think Fame consists in the Number of Votes they have on their Side among the Multitude. The Lazy, the Idle, and the Froward, are the Persons who are most pleas'd with Scandal. Cicero, in one of his Pleadings defending a Client of his from general Scandal, such as Cato's, speaks to this Purpose: " There are many, who have particular " Engagements to the Prosecutor; there are many, " who are known to have ill Will to him for " whom I appear: There are many, who are na- " turally addicted to Defamation, and envious of " any Good to any Man, who may have contri- " buted to spread Reports of this Kind. For no- " thing is so swift as Scandal, nothing is more " easily sent abroad, nothing receiv'd with more " Welcome, nothing diffuses it self so universal- " ly, &c. How agreeable to this are the Sentiments of the Author of the Spectator, No. 451? Where he speaks of attacking the Reputation of Great and Worthy Men by *Inuendo's* and *Allegories*, the Disguise and whole Art of the Letter-Writer. Every one, says that Ingenious Author,*

wbq



who has in him the Sentiments of a Christian or a Gentleman, cannot but be highly offended at this wicked and ungenerous Practice; which is so much in use among us at present, that it is become a Kind of National Crime, and distinguishes us from all the Governments that lye about us. I cannot but look upon the finest Strokes of Satyr, which are aim'd at particular Persons, and which are supported even with the Appearances of Truth, to be the Marks of an evil Mind, and highly criminal in themselves. Infamy, like other Punishments, is under the Direction and Distribution of the Civil Magistrate, not of any private Person. Accordingly, we learn from a Fragment of Cicero, That tho' there were very few Capital Punishments in the Twelve Tables, a Libel or Lampoon, which took away the good Name of another, was to be punish'd with Death. But this is far from being our Case. Our Satyr is nothing but Ribaldry; Scurrility passes for Wit, and he who can call Names in the greatest Variety of Phrases, is look'd upon as the shrewdest Pen. By this means the Honour of Families is ruin'd; the highest Posts and greatest Titles are render'd cheap and vile in the Sight of the People; the noblest Virtues and most exalted Parts expos'd to the Contempt of the vicious and ignorant.

I might have made use of the same Terms, Ignorant and Vicious, in my Fourth Article of such as have been delighted with the Epistles of Cato, but I contented my self with mentioning only the Weak and Ignorant. Wise and Honest Men make a Conscience of imposing on the Understandings of these People; but there are some, who to get a Name themselves as cheap as they can, care not what it costs others. Can the Ignorant and Weak judge of the Power of the Prince, the Rights of the People, the Necessity of Laws, and the Merits of Ministers? Can a blind Man judge of Colours? But he  
can

can feel when he's stricken; and the Weak and Ignorant understand what you mean by *Tyranny, Oppression, Bribery, Avarice*, and the like. They doubt not, *Cato* has always good Reason for what he says; and without it, they can't imagine a Man cou'd be so wicked as to say it. They take every thing for granted; Credulity being the Child of Ignorance, as well as Devotion. *Combien de gens sont estimer parce qu' on ne les connoit pas assez?* &c. says the Abbot *Bellegarde* in his *Reflections, Sur des Sentiments modestes*; "How  
 " many Men are esteem'd, because they are not  
 " enough known? They disguise themselves so  
 " artfully, 'tis impossible to find out what they  
 " are in the Inside. The Multitude are easily  
 " dazzled with the Lustre of false Merit. Men  
 " of Sense and Knowledge of the World are not  
 " deceived. Every one wou'd pass his Judgment  
 " on the publick Affairs, to have it thought he  
 " does not want Capacity: But it commonly hap-  
 " pens the quite contrary; and by endeavouring  
 " to shew he knows something, he makes appear  
 " that he knows nothing at all. Interest and Inclination are the general Biass, and the Bulk of  
 " Mankind judge as they are guided by Passion  
 " or Profit."

Having spoken of the several Kinds of Admirers of *Cato*, and so affected, I cannot forbear adding a Word or two of the Merit of his Performance. I shall not here enter into the Detail of his Topicks; but observe in general, That after his way of thinking and writing, there never was, and never will be a Government, which such a State-Mender may not set himself to work about, nor a Ministry which he may not vilify.



Out of *Tacitus*, *Sallust*, and their Commentators; out of *Matchiavel*, *Sidney*, *Harrington*, *Locke*, and other Modern Authors, he is furnish'd at an easy rate with popular Sentiments of *Tyranny* and *Liberty*. The History of Favourites gives him Matter enough to declaim on *Corruption* and *Oppression*: And whenever he meets with a *Sejanus*, a *Gaveston*, a *Villiers*, he need only write under the Picture, *Earl of Sunderland*, *Earl Stanhope*; and the Vulgar as naturally cry out, *How like it is?* as the Midwife blesses herself for the Semblance of a Child, which the suppos'd Father never had the getting of.

The Concern this Patriot has for the Commonwealth must certainly be very extraordinary, when he breaks thro' the Laws of Integrity, Decency, and Humanity to support it; just like a *French Abbot* I have read of, who squander'd away his Patrimony on Sycophants and Parasites, and caus'd this Inscription to be plac'd over his Abbey-Gate:

*Non nobis sed. Reipublicæ nati sumus.*

*We are born not for our self, but for the Republick.*

Abundance of these publick-spirited Writers have appear'd in our Days, as *Tutchin*, *Lesley*, *Oldsworth*, *Dunton*, *Foe*. They have been wakeful, when all the rest of the Nation have been asleep; and discover'd Disorders and Dangers beyond the Reach of *Second Sight*: Like those arch Orators, who amuse you with Jargon and Cant, while their Fellows pick your Pocket.

If the Letter-Writer was really so concern'd as he pretends to be, he would at this Time of Day have something else in his Head besides Places and Preferments. When we are on every

C

Side



Side alarm'd with Plots and Conspiracies to destroy our Religion and Constitution, to seize the Tower, burn the City, murder the Royal Family, invade the Kingdom, and desolate it with Slaughter and Rapine; this zealous Patriot, with great Indifference for such Trifles, has nothing in his Mouth but *South-Sea*. Is the D——I and Sir J. B. a R——ll?

Death has remov'd the Gentlemen who gave him Offence. Not one of those now in Office was suspected of encouraging or countenancing that odious Scheme, without which his Envy, Malice and Invention had been useless; yet his Outcry is the same still. No sooner can any one put on the King's Livery, but he smuts it and blackens it, to disguise him to the Loyal and Well-affected. There can no Body come in, while he is out, but he will be a Flatterer, a Tyrant, a *South-Sea* Man; and out with him, to make room for the moderate, disinterested *Cato*. If a Man prosecutes the Guilty, he's a *Persecutor*: If he defends the Innocent, he is a *Screen*. And thus by asserting boldly, arguing sophistically, demanding every thing, and granting nothing, by malicious Turns and invidious Allegories, he has put forth a Bundle of Letters, which, leaving out *South-Sea*, and shifting Names, wou'd serve as well for any Government and any Age, from the Time of the true *Cato* to that of the feigned one. It being only, as I have observ'd, to suppose Authority is Oppression, and Favour Corruption; and then, as the Poets do, give what Names and Characters he pleases to his Actors.

This Itch of censuring Ministers, is as old as Ministry; and when Envy and Malice have had nothing else to say, they have fallen so low as Men's Diet and Habits. The *Athenians* blamed

*Cimon*

*Cimon* for drinking *Wine*, the *Romans* accus'd *Scipio* of *Sleeping*; and the Enemies of *Pompey* the Great, observing he *scratch'd* his Head with one Finger, upbraided him with that; as *Oldsworth* did the late Earl of *Godolphin* with having a *Race-Horse*, and the Earl of *Sunderland* a Library; very honestly insinuating, that the former made an ill Use of the one, and the latter no Use at all of the other. Thus the Letter-Writer throws in private Failings and Imperfections, not only to set a Mark on his Persons, but to add to their Reproach. "For, says *Plutarch*, as a Freckle or  
 " Mole in the Face is more prejudicial than  
 " Stains, Maims, and Scars in the rest of the  
 " Body; so, little Faults discern'd in the Lives  
 " of Princes and Statesmen, appear great, thro'  
 " an Opinion most Men have conceiv'd of Go-  
 " vernment and Policy, which they look on as a  
 " great and excellent Thing, and such as ought  
 " to be pure from all Absurdity and Imperfection. On this Account it is that *Cato* descends to common Blemishes of Life, knowing full well if he can bespatter the Man, the Minister will not come off clean. The Rage of his Writings, which is mistaken for *Genius* and Spirit, has the Effect directly opposite to what he seemingly intends, and what I more than once have observ'd to be the main Scope of his Design. The same *Plutarch* tells us, That tho' *Demosthenes* us'd a reproachful manner of speaking in his Pleadings, yet his *Philippicks* are clean and free from all Scoffing and Scurrility: For such Discourses do not only more disgrace the Speaker than the Hearers, or those against whom they are spoken: but do moreover breed Confusion in Affairs, and disturb Counsels and Assemblies. One wou'd think the feign'd *Cato* had somewhere or other met with a Saying of the

True, who had oppos'd Pompey in his joining with Caesar, and afterwards sided himself with the same Pompey, giving it as his Opinion, that the Conduct of the State shou'd be committed to him, with this Saying, *Those who are capable to do the greatest Mischiefs are fittest to put a Stop to them.* But the Letter-Writer shews us too plainly, he's conjuring up a Storm, which he knows not how to lay, and is by no means fit to put a Stop to the Mischief he has done. His Spirit is far from being a healing one; nor has he learnt the Lesson taught by Plutarch, *In all Disputes with Fellow-Citizens, 'tis best to manage them by making use of pure and simple Pretences; and not by sharpening and empoisoning Matters, as if they were Weapons, with Calumnies, Malice and Threats, to render them pernicious, great, and publick.* The Sophistry and Malignity of his Arguments must now strike all honest and reasonable Minds with Horror, as they did before with Indignation. *Had I in any one Instance,* says our most Gracious Sovereign from the Throne, *invaded the Liberty or Property of my Subjects, I shou'd the less wonder at any Endeavours to alienate the Affections of my People, and draw them into Measures that can end in nothing but their Destruction.* No, not in one Instance has the Liberty or Property of the Subject been invaded, tho' Cato has charg'd the Administration with so many. What a Wound must it give to every Loyal Heart, to see so much Royal Goodness and Clemency, so mild and so just a Government, malign'd and insulted, as is done in his Letters, by false and injurious Insinuations? Such Writers are not so daring, as to throw off the Mask, and make a direct Attack upon the Sovereign. But who sees not, that their Endeavour is to reach him thro' the Sides of his Servants; and



and the most Able, the most Faithful, are sure to feel the severest Strokes of their Satyr and Scandal?

To what End all this Calumny and Rage? Is not *Cato* rather dazzled with the Lustre of shining Merit, and inflam'd with Envy, than with a laudable Zeal for the publick Good? *Son merite eblouit il vos yeux jaloux?* says an Elegant French Author. Does his Merit dazzle your jealous Eyes? Are you afraid he'll outshine you? What will you get, after having destroy'd him by your Scandal? Wou'd you raise your Reputation on the Ruin of his? Satisfy your self; all the Ill you say of him, does your self more Injury than it does him. You are look'd upon as an envious Man, which is not at all agreeable to the Character of a Man of Honour.

What has been said, are Hints only furnish'd by reading, to be improv'd by your own better Judgment. It will serve, in some measure at least, to prove, that as the Enemies to our Establishment have been plotting its Destruction ever since it was established; so ambitious and passionate Men have been always ready to do them Service, by their unjust and malicious Representations of Persons and Things. The Faction receives these Deserters with open Arms; and when through Pride and Pique they take Offence at the publick Management, they fail not to caress and cajole the common Enemy, to strengthen themselves by their Applause and Numbers.

Some of them have gone so far, as to renounce all Sentiments of Gratitude, as well as Duty; and when they have acquir'd Wealth, Honours, and even Merit by the good Opinion their Country had conceived of them, have thrown all their Weight into the opposite Scale, and contributed as much as in them lay to the Destruction of the Power

Power that rais'd and enrich'd them. All the Moralists that ever wrote, have wanted Words to express their Horror of the Vice of Ingratitude, with respect to Benefits between Man and Man. But when Men have been highly obliged by the Common-wealth, and forgetting their Duty and Obligations, fall in with her Enemies to revenge themselves of private Injuries; What must be the Composition of such Minds, and of what Wickedness may not one think 'em capable? Cicero, in his Oration to the People of Rome, after his Return from Exile, teaches us how to behave towards the Publick, in Case of receiving Injuries from particular Persons. *After all, says he, I shall always be more in Pain to find Occasion to shew my Gratitude for the Benefits I have receiv'd, than to revenge the Insults and Persecution of my Enemies; it being much easier to revenge an Injury than be grateful for a Benefit; because we can with more Ease surpass the wicked than equal the worthy: Besides, it is not always so necessary to render evil to such as have done us evil, as good to those from whom we have receiv'd it. We ought to lay aside all Animosity and Hatred, in Consideration of the Commonwealth and publick Utility. It is not just to confine the Memory of Benefits to Times and Days; and in a word, he, who is most moderate in his Resentments, will not fail of Applause on every Side: Whereas, on the contrary, we with Reason blame a Man, who having been obliged in the most extraordinary Manner, omits any Opportunity of acknowledging it, and not only call him ungrateful, but impious.*

If Cicero thought it impious not to acknowledge Benefits, what would he have said of such as having been, as one may say, nurs'd, fed, fatten'd, and even fondled by the Common-wealth, should



should turn upon her, as the Serpent on the Bosom that warm'd and reviv'd it? What Shame must the Republick take to her self, for having been deceiv'd by Appearances; and how incapable must the ungrateful Man be of such a Sentiment; who at the same Time that he uses all his Arts and Eloquence to disturb and distress her, shines only in her Ornaments, and has no Power to hurt her, but what he receiv'd from her Favour and Bounty? What need one observe, that only the basest Souls are subject to this Vice, even in Instances between Particulars? But with Regard to the Publick, to whom, without any acquir'd Obligation, we owe all that we have, or can; if a Person proves ungrateful, nothing can bind him to the Practice of Honour, nor will the Common-wealth be ever safe in him. He must hate it of Course, because he has injur'd it: For no Man ever did an Injury, but he ever after hated the Person he injur'd. An ungrateful Man must have abandon'd all Sentiments of Virtue and Generosity, and consequently can never repent. One Wickedness naturally leads him to another; and repeated Acts of the same vile Nature, confirm him in Ingratitude and Malignity, till at last he makes a Merit of both, and prides in those Qualities, which are the Detestation of the virtuous and noble. How dangerous Men of this Make are to the State, and what a Guard ought to be set on their Conduct, is obvious without further Reflection.

Since I took in hand to answer your Letter concerning *Cato*, I have seen an Advertisement of a Pamphlet, written by him upon a stale Clamour against a *Standing Army*. I expect such things from him, as we were wont to do the Lord *Haverham's* Speeches at the opening of every

ry Session of Parliament; or *Letters to the Freeholders and Citizens of London*, against Elections.

As for a *Standing Army*; if he had not had a Sort of a Flux of Writing upon him, he would surely have been satisfied with the Pamphlets written by the disaffected and *Murmurers* on the same Subject after the Treaty of *Ryswick*; some of which I will recommend to him as Originals in the Kind, and they will be of great Service to him, if he should take a Fancy to divert himself again with this Argument: *As, A Discourse shewing, that a standing Army is inconsistent with a free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy; with a Dedication, Part I.*

*Then a Discourse shewing the very same Things; with a Preface. Part II.*

*Then a Postscript.*

*Then a Letter from the Author of these Discourses, Preface, and Postscript, to the Author of the Balancing Letter.*

*Then the Militia reform'd, or an easy Scheme to furnish England with a Land Army.*

*Then a short History of standing Armies in England, with a very long Preface.* In which he will find Variety of Quotations out of *Tacitus, A. Gellius, Livy, Cicero, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Polybius, Seneca, Sallust, Vegetius*, the first Book of *Chronicles*, the *Theodosian Code*, *Rushworth's Collections*, the *Statute-Book*, &c. to prove that a great Army at the Will of a Tyrant is dangerous, and that the Laws of a Country should not lie at the Mercy of Soldiers; which is the very Quintessence of the Arguments of these *Cato's*. Therefore, because the worst of Princes have made the worst Use of a standing Force, do not trust the best of Princes to make the best Use;  
not



not to defend his own Power and Prerogative, but the Religion, Rights and Properties of his People. Because a great Number of Forces have been found burthensome and dangerous in Times of profound Peace, therefore a small Number in the very Heat of Plots and Conspiracies to overwhelm us with Blood and Confusion, are of no Use, and too much Expence. Because the *Lacedæmonians* and *Romans* had of old, and the *Swiss* now-a-days have a regular and useful Militia under the Direction of the Civil Magistrates, therefore ours that ever was irregular, and never useful, ought to be trusted and depended upon. But what are the *Romans* and *Lacedæmonians* to us? It is a wrong way of arguing, to use the Words of a late noble Author, to apply the Precedent of any one Time to another, unless all Things in both Times did agree. Every thing is safe in any State, when that State is equal, if not superior to those about it. *Lacedæmon* and *Rome* were at least upon the same Foot with their Neighbours. They were indeed far superior to them. At *Lacedæmon*, they bred their Youth to nothing but War, or to other Exercises that render'd them fit for it. Their whole Republick was a standing Army, that threatned the rest of Greece. The *Romans*, in the Times of their Liberty, were but a little distinguished from them: They were all train'd to War, and no Man among them could pretend to Employments, till he had reckon'd up so many Campaigns, and shew'd the Wounds he had receiv'd in them. So that here was a Military Republick. As for the *Swiss*, let our Freeholders and their Heirs be list'd and exercised every Week without Pay, as the Men of *Berne* and *Zurich* are. Let their neglecting Duty, be punished as it is there. Let them undergo the same Discipline of good Officers, and see what an Outcry

we should have ; first among these *Militia Men* themselves, and then how it would be improv'd by their *Cato's*. Unless these *Cato's* would take away from the Crown the Power with which our Constitution invests it, these Forces would be under Officers bearing the King's Commission, and consequently soon become as exceptionable as the few Horse and Foot they affect to be so much afraid of. Besides, what do the *Swiss* take so much Pains for with their *Militia* ? Is it to defend their barren Heaths and inaccessible Mountains, or to prepare them for a Market, and sell them to the highest Bidder ?

As easily one might answer the Objections rais'd from the Practice of our Ancestors, when the *English* were in Vassalage, and oblig'd to fight as their Landlords wou'd have them ; and from the sole Dependance they wou'd have us make on our Ships : But it has been done so often, that 'tis as needless and impertinent to repeat what has been said against such Arguments, as what is reviv'd for them. Our *Cato's* know very well, that the Forces in *Great Britain* are far from being a Terror to the Enemies of the Government at Home or Abroad, and are the Desire and Security of its Friends : Yet, as if they swarm'd all over the Island, and every Penny that's paid for them was not spent in it, they do all they can to frighten People with the Danger they are in from them ; and so set them against Payments, without which they cou'd not subsist. Soldiers and Subsidies are Topicks, which easily bear the worst Turn the Malice of Man can give them. And what says the last cited honourable Author to this ? He is answering the Terrors endeavour'd to be infus'd into Mens Minds by the Writer of the *History of Standing Armies*. " This is a large  
" Field,

“ Field, and History is so full of Instances, that  
 “ it will be easy to open copiously on the Subject,  
 “ from the *Pratorian Cohorts* down to our mo-  
 “ dern Armies : But all the Rhetorick this Head  
 “ will afford, is wrong apply’d in this Case. It  
 “ is not to be suppos’d, but that once a Year a  
 “ Parliament must have this Matter afresh under  
 “ Consideration. They will see how the State of  
 “ Affairs varies either at Home or Abroad, and  
 “ whether the Forces are brought under such a  
 “ Management, as there is just Cause of Jealou-  
 “ sy ; and I leave it to you to judge, whether it  
 “ is possible, in so short a Time, so to model and  
 “ influence it, as to prepare them to invade their  
 “ Country, and to destroy our Constitution.  
 “ What *Cesar* with all his Genius could not work  
 “ his Army to, but after Ten Years Conduct and  
 “ Success, can give but small Encouragement to  
 “ others to attempt, &c. The Authors that de-  
 “ claim so much at certain Junctures against the  
 “ Dangers from a *Standing Force*, are as sensible of  
 “ all these things, as those that write them ; but ’tis  
 “ the Word that is given this Season ; they’ll have  
 “ another for the next. *South-Sea* serv’d two or  
 “ three. *War with Spain, Port-Mahone, Gibraltar*,  
 “ came in Play in their Turn. The *Czar* carry’d  
 “ away another of their Clamours with him to the  
 “ *Caspian*, or else we shou’d have heard of the *Fleet*  
 “ *in the North* : For tho’, when they please, they  
 “ make a great Noise for Ships and Sea-Service, yet  
 “ whenever and where-ever Ships are sent *abroad*,  
 “ ’tis exposing the Nation, and putting us to a need-  
 “ less Charge. *Cato* is now reduc’d to the old  
 “ standing Grievance, an Army, and like *Sir Mar-*  
 “ *tin Mar-all* in the Farce, makes Mouths after the  
 “ *Faction* has done tuning to him. This same Fa-  
 “ ction in King *James’s* Reign presented a solemn  
 D 2 Address,



Address, to thank him for his Standing Army of 30000 Irish and English Papists and Tories, arm'd to destroy our Church and Constitution; but wou'd hardly allow King William a Quarter of the Number of English and Dutch Protestants, to secure what he had sav'd. Several Old Whigs, as they will needs be call'd, join'd with the Leaders of this Faction to disarm the Kingdom, and make the Duke of Anjou's Way easy to the Throne of Spain. I shall close what I have to say on this Head, with the Words of the Noble Author I have before twice quoted: To tell you the Truth, I cannot see some Men grow all of a sudden, such wonderful Patriots, so jealous of the Prerogative, and zealous for publick Liberty, without remembering what their Behaviour was some Years ago in the late Reigns, when we had not only all the justest Causes of Jealousy, but all the Certainties of Evidence; the Designis were barefac'd, and the Attempts bold; and yet some were then silent, and others went into them with as hearty a Zeal for Arbitrariness, as they seem now to put on for Liberty. The Methods they have taken during the War, have been so ill disguis'd, that few will believe they are in earnest, when they talk of Liberty and Law, who seem to have labour'd hard to lay us open to Invasion and Conquest. What they cou'd not compass during the War, they hope now to bring about by laying us asleep in Peace. For if we let go a real Security, and trust an imaginary one, we may pay too dear for the Experiment, and be convinc'd of our Error, when it will be no more in our Power to correct it.

There are some other Themes, which these zealous and ingenious Gentlemen declaim upon, to alienate the Minds of His Majesty's Subjects. The more Ingenious discourse of Taxes and Want of Trade still, without hinting a Word of the less-

lessening of the former, and the Increase of the latter ; and having by their Clamour spirited up a Conspiracy, which requires a considerable Expence to suppress, they are very anxious about the *National Debt*, in which, perhaps, they are no otherwise concern'd, than being the Cause of it.

The more Zealous have at Heart, the little Effect modern preaching has had on the Morals of the Laity, the Growth of *Deism*, *Arianism* and the like, notwithstanding the many learned and eloquent Sermons to confound them in most of the Parish Churches throughout the Kingdom. The Disrespect the inferior, loose, illiterate and ignorant Priesthood meet with, is with them of very ominous Portent to the Safety of the *Church* ; but not a Word of the just Respect and Esteem, which every good and reasonable Man pays to the learned and pious Clergy : As to the others, tho' the *Independent Whig* has confounded the Order too much, where he has not so done, I cannot disagree with him.

F I N I S,

